

Counterattack on the Court

The legislatures of 17 states have already petitioned Congress to hold a constitutional convention to revise the Supreme Court's decision on state reapportionment.

From the Richmond News Leader

The movement has attracted little notice, but week by week an impressive list is accumulating of states in which resolutions have been adopted asking a constitutional convention on the issue of reapportionment. Such resolutions amount to a counterattack against the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decrees.

Virginia paced the field back in December, when our general assembly adopted what is known as the "Council text." The name derives from the fact that this proposal originated with the Council of State Governments at its biennial meeting in Chicago. The Council text provides:

"Nothing in this constitution shall prohibit any state which has a bicameral legislature from apportioning the members of one house of such legislature on factors other than population, provided that the plan for such apportionment shall have been submitted to and approved by a vote of the electorate of that state.

"Nothing in this constitution shall restrict or limit a state in its determination of how membership of governing bodies of its subordinate units shall be apportioned."

Write Your Congressmen

There is legislation in both Houses of Congress which would overturn the Supreme Court's decision on the apportionment of state legislatures. Write your congressman and two senators asking them to support these measures.

The legislatures of no fewer than 17 states now have petitioned Congress to call a constitutional convention at which the "Council text" would be formally submitted for ratification. These are Virginia, Alabama, Montana, South Dakota, Arkansas, Nevada, South Carolina, Georgia, Arizona, Oklahoma, Missouri, Tennessee, Idaho, Texas, New Mexico, Kansas and Utah. In addition, California and Colorado have substantially the same provisions.

Article V of the Constitution provides that "The Congress, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which . . . shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by . . . three-fourths of the several states."

This provision of the Constitution never has been put to use. In every instance in which a proposed constitutional amendment has been submitted to the states, the Congress itself, by a two-thirds vote in each House, has approved the proposed amendment and submitted the proposition. Thus, no machinery exists for calling such a constitutional convention, and no precedents exist to suggest whether such a convention, once convened, could be limited to the single issue of apportionment.

Conceivably, such a convention could propose a dozen or more amendments, each of which would become part of the Constitution if it obtained subsequent approval in the requisite three-fourths of the states.

Resolutions would be required in 34 states in order to trigger the



country's first national constitutional convention since 1787. Most observers think it unlikely that the "Council text" will get to quite that point. What is more likely is that the Congress itself will submit a reapportionment resolution. The remarkable fact is that 90 such proposals have been introduced—86 in the House, four in the Senate. Hearings on these have begun in the Senate Judiciary Committee; hearings in the House begin April 7.

This newspaper warmly supports the principle embodied in these resolutions (though we think it regrettable that the

Council text includes that second paragraph). The pure democracy of "one man, one vote," has no place in the political tradition of the American Republic.

Contrary to superficial popular belief, our greatest political institutions are not based upon "majority rule." They are rather based upon a system of checks and balances, by which a minority may exercise power beyond its numbers. Because it is evident that only a constitutional amendment will undo the mischief of the Supreme Court's willful innovation, we join in urging the Congress to propose a suitable amendment at the earliest possible moment.

Right-to-Work

Sen. John Tower tells why he will vote to maintain Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Page 9



President Johnson's unconstitutional "Voting Rights" bill must be defeated.

Page 12



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Many Republicans Going Overboard On Increases in Social Security

From the Chicago Tribune

It is an illogical tradition of politics that when there is no longer any chance of defeating a proposal, those who once denounced it as too radical often begin to charge that it doesn't go far enough.

We are thinking of the attitude of some leading Republicans toward Social Security. Many who resisted Medicare are now backing other proposals—with the intent not so much of substituting them for Medicare, as of adding them to it. The Republican members of a special Senate Committee on Aging, among them Sen. Dirksen, the minority leader, have declared themselves in favor of greater Social Security benefits all down the line, with little reference to the cost.

It reminds us of the 1930s, when many of those who had opposed federal social insurance, realizing that some federal program was inevitable, took up the cry for such absurdities as the Townsend plan and Huey Long's scheme to share the wealth.

Some of the proposals made by the Republicans now are no doubt sensible. But taken as a whole, they duplicate and contradict one another and leave the ultimate goal of Social Security, if indeed there is one, in a deeper fog than ever.

For example, the Republican report favors relaxing the rule which prevents a pensioner from earning more than a limited amount of money without losing part of his pension. It also favors extending old age insurance benefits to those over 72 who are not now covered.

If our Social Security taxes are supposed to give us rights to benefits in our old age, as we have usually been told, then the first suggestion is sensible (though it may be prohibitively costly) and the second is absurd.

If old age insurance is simply a system whereby wage earners contribute to the support of the needy elderly, the reverse would apply. But to suggest both at once is to concede that there is no logic behind Social Security except to win votes, and to endanger the financing of a program which is supposed to be self-sustaining.

As if this weren't enough, the Republican report proposes strengthening the present old age assistance program which is managed by the states and financed largely by federal contributions. The average state pension today is as large as—and in many states larger than—the \$79 or so a month which is the average benefit under federal old age insurance. It was once intended that state pensions would disappear as the federal program grew.

Instead, the federal contributions toward state pensions are larger than ever and the number of beneficiaries drawing both at once grows by leaps and bounds. Since most state pensions go to men and women over 72, it would be redundant to spend more money on state pensions while at the same time raising federal pensions and extending them to those not now covered.

It looks as if the Republicans are falling into the Democratic habit of regarding Social Security as a convenient catchall for vote-getting schemes regardless of their merit or their relevance to Social Security goals.

The wiser and more honest course for the Republicans would be to remind us that Social Security depends not on promises, but on money, and if the system becomes overburdened with Medicare or other benefits, it will either go bankrupt or will absorb so much in taxes that the productive section of the economy will suffer.

They could cite as evidence the financial difficulties of overly ambitious welfare programs abroad, including those in Britain and France. And they could set a course which would avoid duplication, extravagance and deception, and provide rational guidelines which so many people feel are lacking at present.

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YOU CAN HARDLY BLAME Nasser for being mad at us for refusing to send food to Egypt. Burning libraries and shooting down privately owned U.S. airplanes is hungry work.—From the Los Angeles Times

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FREE CATALOGUE

All Opinions Not Equal

The Ugly New 'Objectivity'

By ALICE WIDENER

Decent Americans should join with columnist William S. White in recognizing and deploring what he describes as the ugly new intellectual "objectivity" in our nation. This alleged objectivity, he says, accepts as "student leaders" those rabble rousers, radicals and anarchists at university campuses and other places who substitute howling license of speech for genuine freedom of speech.

In some quarters, Mr. White points out, there is far more sympathy for these extremist "student" demonstrators than for other boys of the same age risking their lives in Viet Nam in a fight for real freedom against Red tyranny.

On March 15, the very same day that White's New York *Journal-American* column appeared, the New York Times carried a front page article entitled "The Student Left: Spurring Reform" by Fred Powledge. In my opinion, this article is characteristic of the ugly new "objectivity," for it presents an out-of-focus picture of what he describes as the leftist "new activist-intelligentsia" rising on college campuses.



Statements by left-wing "student leaders" should not be given the same weight as statements by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Part of the Powledge article reports in 16 paragraphs of 130 lines on the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America. A single paragraph of eight lines states, "Last October, J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, wrote that the DuBois Clubs had been spawned by the Communist Party, U.S.A. and that the club's ideology was one of 'discord, hate and violence.'"

The foregoing sentence in the Times article is immediately followed by the "objective" subhead "Hoover Viewed As Threat" and the paragraph, "Many members reply that Mr. Hoover is part of the reactionary force that the DuBois group believes is the greatest threat to American society."

Thus Times writer Fred Powledge equates "objectively" in his article the highly informed, expert statement of a superior, distinguished public official such as J. Edgar Hoover with the subversive slander of him and the FBI by a Communist youth group.

There follows in the Times article seven paragraphs about Miss Bettina Aptheker, a DuBois Club member at the University of California at Berkeley who calls herself a "Marxist Socialist." Miss Aptheker is quoted as saying that

the "sort of society" she believes should exist has "almost been achieved" in the Soviet Union. Fred Powledge identifies her as "the daughter of Herbert Aptheker, a writer on Negro history and director of the Institute for Marxist Studies here (New York City)."

Now it is true that Herbert Aptheker is a writer and director of the institute mentioned. But Mr. Powledge did not inform his readers that Herbert Aptheker, appearing on behalf of indicted Communists, testified in federal court in 1949 and again in 1954 that he had been a member of the Communist party since 1939. Moreover, the House Committee on Un-American Activities reports in its study "Organization and Structure of the Communist Party, U.S.A.," that Herbert Aptheker was officially listed by the CPUSA in 1961 as a "member at large" of its National Committee.

Columnist William S. White writes that it isn't popular to say Communists are exploiting extremists of right and left in our country, inside and outside the civil rights situation. "No, it is not popular to say this," says Mr. White, "it is only true."

Wisely, he points out that this truth should not serve neo-fascists or any other extremist group as an excuse for brutality or violence, or as an excuse to deny to Negroes their absolute right to vote in all elections for local, state and federal office under precisely the same qualifications as all Americans.

In addition, Communist exploitation of freedom of speech and assembly should not serve as an excuse for description of the "Filthy Speech Movement" at the University of California as merely "the puerile current expression of student revolt"—as did the New York Times in an editorial of March 15.

Webster's defines puerile as "childish, foolish, unthinking." In my judgment, the university students who held aloft placards with obscene words were deliberate delinquents guilty of premeditated lawlessness.

I agree with William S. White that our rich nation is becoming poor in "old and once irreplaceable values." These are all the values, middle class morality values, which the Communists seek to destroy. It now seems they are making more headway in our country than in most non-Communist nations. Decent Americans should band together and put a stop to it.

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"IF THERE IS ANYTHING which it is the duty of the whole people to never entrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions."—Abraham Lincoln

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President's Bill on Arts and Humanities Would Create Tax-Supported Culture Czars

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

New York City—Huntington Hartford's new Gallery of Modern Art towers over Central Park at Columbus Circle, a rose and white minaret in this Babylon on the Hudson, created by Edward Durell Stone in a burst of Byzantine vision. Your correspondent emerged from these rococo precincts one afternoon recently, bought a paper, and learned that Mr. Johnson had sent his own bill on the arts up to Congress. It is a bad bill in several different ways; and the impact of Mr. Hartford's charming gallery made it worse.

Let us not construe the Constitution. In any old fashioned view, the Congress has no more power to create a "National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities" than it has power to make Harry Truman a duke, but in a day when the Supreme Court confuses desirability with constitutionality, anything goes. Let us object and except, and let the point go.

Simply from a standpoint of governmental administration, the President's bill is a monstrosity. He would create (1) a National Endowment for the Arts, (2) a National Endowment for the Humanities, and (3) a Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities, all of which would go into (4) a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. Meanwhile, the National Council on the Arts, which came into existence only last fall, would vanish into the maze, never to be heard from again.

These several agencies, under the President's bill, would be charged with

disbursing new grants-in-aid "to groups or, in appropriate cases, to individuals engaged in or concerned with the creative and performing arts." The grants would finance group productions, or individual projects, in music, dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio and tape and sound recordings. The companion provisions, dealing with the humanities, are equally encompassing.

The President's bill, sponsored by Messrs. Pell, Javits and Gruening in the Senate, and by Mr. Fogarty of Rhode Island in the House, is the fifth or sixth major proposal in this field to be put before Congress this year. The Johnson version is better than the others in one respect only: it would authorize up to \$5 million a year in federal funds to be matched with equivalent private contributions. In every other respect, Mr. Johnson's bill suffers by comparison.

For example, an earlier bill by Sen. Gruening provides that a National Humanities Board must be made up with a "comprehensive representation of the views of scholars and teachers in the humanities and the arts." The Gruening bill also contains an explicit provision that such a board "shall not attempt, directly or indirectly, to direct, control, or otherwise influence the scholarship, teaching, research, or artistic endeavors which it supports." Neither of these provisions appears in the President's bill.

An earlier bill from Sen. Pell also contains one or two clauses that are intended to provide some safeguards against a despotism of taste, by assuring a reasonable turnover in membership on the governing board. Mr. Johnson's version, by contrast, would create two cultural czars, one for the arts, the other for the humanities, and would give each of them power to disburse up to \$15 million a year largely at his own discretion.

The new grants would be paid to recipients who met "such standards as may be approved" by the government. The two chairmen would decide which artistic endeavors had "substantial artistic and cultural significance." In the end, they alone would conclude that a novel, or biography, or tone poem, or painting, or piece of sculpture had "significant merit."

They would choose the artists, writers, designers and composers who would receive the federal grants. This is regal taste-making not seen since the days of Catherine the Great, and it would be conducted with public funds gathered through the compulsions of law.

Huntington Hartford's gallery has drawn contemptuous sniggers from the moment it was opened—and drawn heartfelt applause as well. Mr. Hartford's taste runs strongly to representational paintings and sculpture; he is like square man. Most galleries, like the Guggenheim up the street, are from Far Outsville, but the Hartford is close in. Its patron likes it that way. And it is his money.

That is the key point. So long as patronage of the arts is free and voluntary, Guggenheim and Hartford, and Wright and Stone, can compete fairly in the marketplace. You pay your money and you take your choice. But once the really big money in the arts begins to come from the federal government, you still will pay your money, all right, but the dominant choice will be Big Daddy's.

(Copyright 1965, Newsday)



In the Senate the President's "culture" bill is sponsored by (l. to r.): Claiborne Pell (D.-R.I.), Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) and Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska).

Industrial Subversion Ring

A Counterspy vs. the 'Colonizers'

From the Indianapolis Star

Indianapolis, the nation's 26th largest city, plays an important role in our national economy and our defense production.

The community's industrial plants produce jet, auto and truck engines, helicopter gears, hydrofoil boats, chemical, food and fuel products, highly sophisticated measuring and guidance devices, electronic components of ballistic missiles and space vehicles.

The 205,000-man working force contains a high percentage of skilled specialists. An array of highways, railroads and airlines carries Indianapolis products throughout the country.

Now do some imagining. Imagine it should be disclosed that Communist agents had jobs at Allison's, Mallory's, RCA, Beuhler, Esterline-Angus, Naval Avionics, Indianapolis Power and Light, Indiana Bell, the Pennsylvania and New York Central Railroads and Weir Cook Municipal Airport.

Something very close to that happened in Buffalo, N. Y., a key producer of strategic manufactures and materials. Although the hearings that uncovered this infiltration were held by the House Committee on Un-American Activities almost a year ago and the transcript was released more than a month ago, the nation's news media have devoted surprisingly little space to the disclosures.

The hero of the story was Andrew J. Berecz, a Hungarian-born steelworker

and counterspy. Berecz for a number of years watched and reported to the FBI on Red movements to control U. S. youth, to infiltrate the Women's Strike for Peace and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, to join "ban the bomb" demonstrations, and the switch in growing numbers of Communists from the relatively "soft" line directed from Moscow to the aggressive hard line manipulated from Peking.

The Communist agents in Buffalo, Berecz told committee counsel William Hitz, were sent from New York City and were known as "colonizers." They were well-educated men who applied in key industries for jobs usually far beneath their capabilities.

Typical was Paul Sporn, a member of the Communist party's vital "agit-prop" section. Sporn admitted under committee questioning that he was a *cum laude* graduate of New York University. In seeking jobs, he would admit only to a high school education.

Berecz identified the other colonizers as Sy Rudner, Alexander Salmin, Sid Ingeman, Edward Wolkenstein, Marty Zelman, Milton Rosen, Walter Zvaleko and Mortimer Scheer.

Surprisingly enough, the committee learned that Rudner and Tobias Schwartz, a reluctant witness whom it questioned, were employed by Roswell Memorial Institute, which was doing research under

contract with the National Institutes of Health under the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This meant that U. S. tax dollars were supporting Communist agents!

Precisely what was the objective of the colonizers? A secret Communist directive gave the answer in part: "Three basic industries, steel, railroads and mining, are the basis of the national economy. That is, if any one or all three are shut down by a strike our economy is paralyzed. It is necessary for

a Marxist Revolutionary Party to be rooted in these industries."

Just as the bulk of an iceberg is underwater, the bulk of the Communist apparatus is still underground. To an increasing degree, control of its toughest and most militant elements is being exercised from Peking. And there can be little doubt that it is operating in most of our large industrial cities.

In event of a large-scale war with the Communists, its value to the enemy and its ultimate objectives would become drastically clear.

A \$48,000 Electrical Bill

Reprinted from the Freeman

It was a receipted bill for electrical service rendered in 1907 by the Edison Light and Power Co. to a customer in Wichita, Kansas. The bill was for \$7 for a month's service—for only 14 kilowatt-hours of electricity.

The bill was made out on a postal card, the other side of which bore the one-cent stamp that paid for its delivery across town.

In the 58 years since 1907, the postage rate has risen to 4 cents a card—400 per cent of what it was then; whereas the price for electricity has steadily declined from 50 cents per k.w.h. to 2 cents now—4 per cent of what it was then.

An average American home today, if fully electrified with air conditioning and heating, would use about 24,000 k.w.h. annually, costing \$480. At the 1907 rate, that cost would be \$12,000; and if k.w.h. prices had behaved as has the price for delivering a post

card, the electrical bill would be \$48,000 annually. Except that no one would use electrical appliances!

One might speculate as to what those respective rates might be today had the situations been reversed, with a government monopoly of electrical service, and a free enterprise postal service.

How much profit was earned over the years by the Edison Light and Power Co. and its successors in Wichita is unknown to us, but we do know that within a recent period of years while the Post Office was accumulating a deficit of \$10 billion, its largest competitor in the communications field, the privately owned American Telephone and Telegraph, showed \$22 billion in profits—despite the fact that the rates it could charge for phone service were regulated and controlled by the Federal Communications Commission.

In view of all the talk about protecting consumers, the record suggests that private enterprise is a better caretaker than the government.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• In a speech at Manchester, N. H., during the last campaign, LBJ ridiculed suggestions that the war in Viet Nam be expanded. The transcript of that speech, delivered September 28, makes interesting reading in light of Johnson's escalation of the Vietnamese conflict: "Some of our people—Mr. Nixon, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Scranton and Mr. Goldwater—have all, at some time or another, suggested the possible wisdom of going north in Viet Nam. Well, now, before you start attacking someone and you launch a big offensive, you better give some consideration to how you are going to protect what you have. . . . As far as I am concerned, I want to be very cautious and careful, and use it only as a last resort, when I start dropping bombs around that are likely to involve American boys in a war in Asia with 700 million Chinese."



LBJ

• The Los Angeles Times, once considered a bastion of Far West conservatism, continues to shift to the left. Now, a former aide to Robert F. Kennedy, Edwin O. Guthman, has been named national editor of the Times, effective April 19. Guthman, who was reporter for the Seattle Times in 1949, joined the Justice Department in 1962 as a special assistant to Atty. Gen. Kennedy in charge of public relations.

• California Democrats are in serious trouble because of a divisive split. A feud between the powerful California Democratic Council (an ultra-liberal volunteer group) and regular Democrats is considered the major factor in a recent Republican victory for a state senate seat in a 2-to-1 Democratic district in northern California. The defeat cut the Democrats to 25 seats in the 40-member senate, still a majority but two short of the 27 votes the governor needs for approval of his budget. Tom B. Carvey Jr., president of the council, says he's dismayed at the Republican victory and feels that the continuous feud could bode ill for Democrats throughout the Golden State.



BROWN

• Businessmen should hardly be happy with President Johnson's choice to replace Boyd Leedom, the one conservative on the National Labor Relations Board, with Samuel Zagoria. Zagoria's views can be gauged by the fact that he is currently administrative assistant to ultra-liberal Sen. Clifford Case (R.-N. J.) and that he was a former reporter for the Washington Post.

• Rep. James Quillen (R.-Tenn.) has put the growth of the federal bureaucracy in easily understood terms: "In 1913, when the graduated income tax became law, there were only 396,000 federal employees. Today there are more than 2.5 million, six times as many as in 1913. During the 50-year period since 1913, our population has doubled—so, presumably, some growth in the number of federal employees was inevitable. But what actually happened was not growth; it was an explosion. The result is this: We now have 5 times as many employees—spending 150 times as much money—to take care of a population that has only doubled in the past half century."



QUILLEN

• The Los Angeles Herald-Examiner reported last week that Alger Hiss showed up in L. A. for a closed-door conference with Frank Wilkinson, the identified Communist who runs the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The Medicare Tax

LBJ's \$6-billion "Medicare and Social Security package" sailed through the House Ways and Means Committee last week on a straight party-line vote, 17 Democrats for, 8 Republicans against. The measure would provide the broadest expansion of government welfare benefits since the depression years of the 1930s and would send taxes skyrocketing.

Under the legislative package, there will be:

- A 7 per cent across-the-board increase in old-age and survivors retirement benefits.
- A greatly expanded medical care program under a revised Kerr-Mills Act, with greater services for maternal and child health, the mentally retarded, etc.
- A so-called "voluntary" supplementary insurance plan which would provide physician and other medical and health services. This program would be financed by a \$3-a-month contribution by each beneficiary and an equal sum provided by the federal government out of federal general tax revenues. (While the person participating in the plan can voluntarily decide if he wants to join, the matching funds by the federal government will be a compulsory tax levied against all taxpayers. In other words, the taxpayer cannot decide if he voluntarily wants to put up matching funds.)
- A broadening of coverage to include self-employed physicians.

The most controversial aspect of the program, however, was the compulsory hospital plan, financed through a separate payroll tax and placed in a trust fund under Social Security. Under this program, patients 65 or over would receive 60 days of free hospital care with no cost after the first \$40 and additional nursing home benefits from 20 to 100 days.

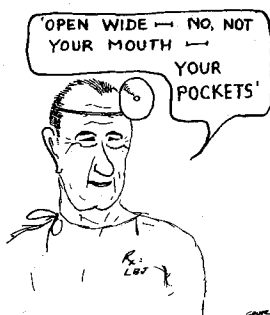
With the compulsory hospital scheme piled on to the other programs already existing under the Social Security system, the tax burden on the common man will expand enormously.

Currently, an employee's Social Security tax is 3 and 5/8 per cent of the first \$4,800 he earns (or a maximum of \$174). The employer has to match the contribution of each of his employees.

Under the Johnson formula, the Social Security tax will jump to 4 and 1/8 per cent in January, and the tax base will be increased to the first \$5,600 of earnings. By 1987, the tax rate will rise to 5.6 per cent of the first \$6,600 in earnings.

Thus a man earning \$6,600 today only has to pay \$174 dollars in Social Security taxes. In 1966, he will have to ante up \$243.60. By 1971, he will have to put up \$323. By 1987 he will be paying close to \$370.

This tax estimate, moreover, does not take into account the expected rising costs of Medicare and a further expansion of the program. AFL-CIO President George Meany just last week said he wanted "further improvements" in the legislation.



Liberals Back Romney-Javits

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who still has wild hopes of becoming the GOP presidential nominee in 1968, had the rug pulled out from under him last week by Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.).

Javits, it was revealed in the New York Times, has in effect told close political associates that Rocky is "dead as a dodo" for 1968 and that his two previous unsuccessful sorties into the nomination race demonstrate he can't win. The New York senator said he feels that his own freedom of movement on the nation's scene has been severely curtailed by his loyalty to Nelson.

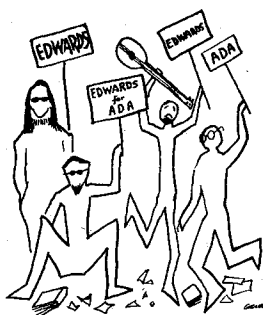
Sen. Javits' desire to cut old-school ties is based on his own hopes of becoming a vice presidential candidate in 1968. Insiders say he would like to team up with Michigan Gov. George Romney.

The possibility of such a ticket was underscored last week when Romney, a liberal prospect for the 1968 GOP nomination, spent some time in the Nation's Capitol conferring with Javits. Romney was reportedly aware that Javits had decided not to remain a Rockefeller man in 1968.

At any rate, with Rocky's fortunes fading, talk of a Romney-Javits ticket is now the current rage among liberal Republicans.

ADA's New Chairman

The Americans for Democratic Action, the far-out outfit to which Vice President Hubert Humphrey still belongs, refuses to dis-appoint his far-left friends. Last week it was revealed that the ADA nominating board had picked Rep. Don Edwards (D.-Calif.) to replace John P. Roche as its national chairman.



While the Edwards nomination still has to be confirmed by the ADA convention in early April, his ascendancy to the group's presidency appears assured.

Edwards is the perfect choice for the ADA. A former FBI agent and bigwig Young Republican in California, he has turned his back on both. Now on ADA's national board, he recently became the folk hero of the radicals because of his leadership among the small coterie in Congress determined to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He has proposed locking up the files of the HCUA for 50 years.

This year, when the House was evidently dead-set against liquidating HCUA, Edwards, on February 19, introduced crippling amendments to the HCUA appropriations bill which would have put it out of business for a good part of the session.

The reliable anti-Communist weekly, *Tocsin*, recently ran what it labeled Edwards' left-leaning record. Contacted by *Human Events*, Edwards tagged *Tocsin* as "a little filthy scandal sheet," but he did not say where *Tocsin*'s editors were inaccurate.

Tocsin stated Edwards is against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He is. It claimed he was for admission of Red China into the United Nations. He is. It claimed that Edwards "joined the political left's chorus of abuse against the FBI" after a visit to Mississippi "where his son Leonard was working with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)."

In answer to this, Edwards stated he had only said that the students in Mississippi "have little trust" in the FBI with regard to civil rights matters. He admitted that his son worked with SNCC, which liberal columnists Evans and Novak recently described as "substantially infiltrated by beatnik left-wing revolutionaries, and—worst of all—by Communists."

Edwards volunteered the additional information that he was one of SNCC's "financial supporters." He defended his and his son's relations with SNCC on the grounds that the attorney general of Alabama, Richmond Flowers, had claimed SNCC was not infiltrated in the South. In a telephone conversation from Montgomery, Flowers told *Human Events* he had said no such thing. The state's attorney general did say that "my office" has no knowledge of Communist infiltration of SNCC in Alabama, but he underscored the fact that "we're not equipped to know about this."

Tocsin also pointed out that Edwards, as president of the Valley Title Co. of San Jose, Calif., had hired two individuals, one identified as a Communist before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953 and another, an educational director, who

took the Fifth Amendment before the California Un-American Activities Committee in 1953. Edwards admitted these men were working for him, but vouched for them as "fine young men."

In short, he is the epitome of an ADA national chairman.

The Radical CDC

The far-left California Democratic Council last week elected as its president a man described by his supporters as "a long-time friend of President Lyndon Johnson." He is Simon R. Cassidy, a newspaper publisher.

Meeting in Sacramento, delegates representing an estimated 70,000 CDC members went on record demanding:

- An end to U.S. air strikes in Viet Nam, a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement in that conflict.
- Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities.
- Removal of all restrictions on travel abroad, specifically, to Communist China, North Viet Nam, Albania, North Korea and Cuba.
- Dismissal of all charges against students and non-students arrested during the tumultuous demonstrations at the University of California at Berkeley.

Ultra-liberal Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin (D.-Calif.) last week delivered a congressional tribute to the CDC's new president, informing his colleagues that Cassidy is a "long-time friend of President Lyndon Johnson."

Dixie: Fertile GOP Ground

Republicans are pointing to a recent contest in Alabama's Baldwin County to show that the spirit of Republicanism is still lively in the South in spite of Goldwater's fading from the political picture.

On March 16, Paul Terry, a relatively unknown figure, came within 331 votes of whipping popular Democrat Dick Owen for a seat in the state's House of Representatives. Owen won, 3,165 to 2,834. A third man in the race (who many suspect was put up by Owen forces to draw support from Terry) pulled 839 votes.

Though a Democrat won, the close contest has again caused GOPers to start whistling "Dixie." The Birmingham News editorially emphasized that the "victory" should hardly cause jubilation among Democrats.

Owen's name, it is pointed out, was well known throughout the area, since he was previously elected probate judge. And he won only because he was able to take populous Bay Minette, his home town which has traditionally elected the House member from Baldwin County. In spite of Owen's popularity, Dr. Terry carried all other areas of the county.

Boiled down to essentials, say the pros, the South is still proving itself as a happy hunting ground for the GOP.

LBJ: Soft on Sukarno

Diplomatic Row was startled last week to learn the President had sent to Indonesia to stop Sukarno's increasingly anti-American campaign none other than Ellsworth Bunker, now U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States.

In recent weeks, Sukarno has nationalized U.S.-owned industries and encouraged mob actions against American officials, and the press has been indicating that the White House intends to get tough with Sukarno. The Bunker mission, however, only indicates further appeasement of the tin pot dictator is in the offing.

A coddler of neutralist Nehru when ambassador to India, Bunker devised a formula in 1962 which wrested West New Guinea from Dutch control and handed it over to imperialist Indonesia. Bunker offered his plan in the face of outspoken alarm by the native Papuan tribes who have a healthy fear of Sukarno's dictatorship.

The proposals, which the Dutch accepted only after massive American pressures, including some arm twisting by Robert Kennedy, represented such

an obvious knee-scrap to Sukarno's imperialist demands and military threats that they rapidly became known in West New Guinea as the "Bongkar" plan (from the Indonesian word meaning "to burglarize or to break in").

Papuan leaders were so upset by the Bunker proposals they sent telegrams to President Kennedy pleading not to be left to the mercy of Indonesia. But somehow Johnson feels Bunker's the man to stand up to Sukarno.

LBJ's Inflation Plans Scored

Six Republicans, ranging from liberal to conservative, and one liberal Democrat have issued views sharply challenging the spend-spend philosophy of the Democratic Administration and warning that powerful inflationary pressures are lurking beneath the surface. Their views are part of the minority opinion contained in a recent report of the Joint Economic Committee.

The Republicans, including Sen. Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.) and Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.), said, "We believe the danger of an inflationary overheating of the economy in 1965 cannot be ruled out."

"A number of factors cloud the economic outlook in the second half of the year. The continuation of large budget deficits . . . and the problems of managing the growing federal debt threaten the basis of our prosperity."

The harshest words, however, came from liberal Democrat Sen. William Proxmire (Wis.). Proxmire, grown somewhat more conservative on certain monetary and fiscal policies over recent years, slashed at the Democratic majority report, the views of which coincide pretty much with those of the Administration. He attacked the Democratic report's contention that the government should be prepared to spend more while Congress should consider bigger tax cuts.

"What a political nirvana! Spend money, cut taxes, and do it in the name of responsible economic policy. How can such a policy ever lose an election? . . ."

"If the philosophy espoused in this report takes hold we may kiss good-bye to balanced budgets in our lifetime and say a big hello to national debts of astounding proportions and to a steady and increasing inflation . . ."

Reds in Civil Rights Group

Anti-Communist circles in the Capital are not saying so publicly, but many are beginning to feel a bi-partisan congressional committee should be established to investigate Communist activity in the civil rights movement. The group would not be in any way concerned with civil rights as such, but only with some of the leftist infiltrators who are believed to have instigated riots in both the North and the South.

Government files are replete with evidence of Red penetration of certain groups and some of this has been reported in the press.

Columnist Joseph Alsop, after having been briefed by Bobby Kennedy last year, revealed that Dr. Martin Luther King's own movement was being manipulated by Communists. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover gave similar testimony on Jan. 29 last year before executive sessions of the House Appropriations Committee, but words were stricken from the transcripts released to the public.

Just last week columnists Evans and Novak reported that the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee is "substantially infiltrated" by Communists and revolutionaries and that they had pressed King into an extremist stand at Selma.

In spite of this evidence, however, neither the House Committee on Un-American Activities nor the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is willing to touch this highly explosive issue. And with some cause. Both groups are headed by Southerners and any probe would engulf them with charges of racism.

Therefore, it is now being suggested that a special blue-ribbon committee, excluding Southerners, be established to conduct a thorough investigation. In some quarters it is suggested that the financial backers of King could be a good place to start any probe.



• Last week the House passed the omnibus crime bill for the District of Columbia by a vote of 250 to 131. Although the

bill may fail in the Senate, congressmen were up in arms over reminders of violence in the Nation's Capital, including the case of Rep. James Cleveland (R.-N. H.), who narrowly escaped being knifed while trying to break up a fight in front of his home.



CLEVELAND

The measure permits District police to make "investigative arrests," raises sentences on certain crimes and would sharply restrict the effects of the controversial Mallory and Durham rulings. Serious crime in Washington has risen 94 per cent since 1957.

• A long-time aide of former Michigan governor "Soapy" Williams, John L. Sweeney, has been named chairman of the Appalachian Commission. Under the recently passed law, Sweeney will have the power to veto any project, even if the majority of the state governors on the commission favor it.

• Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N. C.) has sharply criticized the proposed 1965 civil rights bill, which automatically provides

for federal registration in those states having literacy tests and where less than 50 per cent of the people voted last November. Charging "no rational relationship" between the 50 per cent figure and discrimination, the North Carolinian noted that only 38.4 per cent of the District of Columbia's eligible citizens voted in 1964, even though the population is 55 per cent Negro.

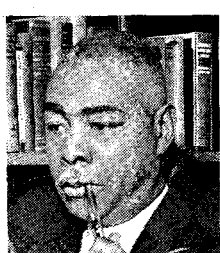


ERVIN

• Big labor's drive to organize the Deep South received a sharp setback recently in Roanoke Rapids, N. C. There employees of six J. P. Stevens and Co. textile mills rejected union representation by a 3-to-2 margin. The defeat was a heavy blow to Walter Reuther's Industrial Union Department. The IUD reportedly has spent \$1 million to organize 26 of Stevens' plants throughout the South and hoped for a breakthrough at Roanoke Rapids.

• Claude Lightfoot, top U. S. Communist, dispatched the following telegram to LBJ: "Mr.

President, on behalf of all American Communists, we join Americans of all political persuasions, religious beliefs and ethnic groups in applauding your address to Congress and the American people. If its spirit and content remain uncompromised, it will rank in history as one of our nation's greatest speeches. We Communists pledge to do all in our power to help implement your efforts to pass a right-to-vote law at the grass roots level of America."



LIGHTFOOT

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Human Events'
Guide to Congress
See page 16



The strange case of Harry Dexter White (right), who sabotaged Nationalist China during FDR's Administration, points up the dangers of an all-powerful executive branch.

Harry Dexter White Case

New Report Illustrates Dangers Of All-Powerful Executive Dept.

By DONALD I. ROGERS

Revelation by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that the late Harry Dexter White, when he was assistant secretary of the treasury, deliberately wrecked Nationalist China's monetary system during World War II, focuses still another dim spotlight on the murky, untold deeds that were all too common in high office just a few short years ago.

Most of all, it illustrates the weakness in the American system when a determined and ruthless executive branch ignores or overrides the orders of an apathetic or fawning legislative branch. Congress had ordered gold sent to China. White decided against it, so it wasn't sent.

There has been a lingering mystery about Harry Dexter White's sudden death by heart attack on Aug. 16, 1948. It has been carefully forgotten in official quarters. Three days before he died, White had denied before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had ever been a Communist or a spy.

During the hearings of perjurer Alger Hiss, the late Whittaker Chambers of the pumpkin papers fame, testified that White had been "at least a fellow traveler." Elizabeth Bentley accused White of helping her steal top secret papers for the Communists. The House committee was preparing to refute White's claim of innocence when he died, very suddenly.

White was assistant to the late Henry Morgenthau Jr. Morgenthau's diaries and papers are being culled by the security committee to determine the extent the U.S. Treasury played in bringing about the rise of Red China's People's Republic, and the overthrow of Chiang's government.

The committee's reports will be voluminous. They will be worth reading, though, for they will show official duplicity and Communist involvement in high office during wartime. A committee member told this reporter some of the disclosures are "shocking."

Both chairman James O. Eastland, (D.-Miss.) and Prof. Anthony Kubek of the University of Dallas who selected the papers from the Morgenthau files at Hyde Park, N.Y., say the records show that White deliberately sought to ruin Nationalist China's monetary sys-

tem, and that its ultimate fall paved the way for Communist conquest.

Congress had earmarked \$200 million in gold for China out of a \$500-million credit which it authorized in 1942. The papers show that White didn't ship the gold for four years—until it was too late for China to save herself from the Communist plot.

The deed is done; there is no turning back. White is dead and so is his boss, Morgenthau. So is Morgenthau's boss, Roosevelt.

There remains only the indisputable fact that the executive branch of government, between 1942 and 1945, was engaged in international intrigue with the Communists, and kept it secret from the American people and Congress. It was never part of this country's foreign policy to encourage Communist conquest of China. Clearly, though, it was the policy of some in the executive branch of our government.

Morgenthau was responsible, whether implicated or not, for he was White's boss and appointed him. Roosevelt, as Morgenthau's boss, shares the same responsibility. This is assuming that both Morgenthau and Roosevelt were ignorant of what was going on in the Treasury.

Ultimate responsibility rests with Congress for permitting the executive branch, which is not accountable to the people, to become all-powerful. Let's hope the lesson has been learned, and that it won't be allowed to happen again.

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SOLUTION FOR THE SOUTH—
The solution to the racial troubles of Selma—indeed of the entire South—lies primarily with the enlightened people of both races sitting down and working out their local problems together. When it comes to this sort of peace, Dr. King is no prize.—From the Richmond News Leader

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BIG FAMILY—Unfortunate as it may be, Uncle Sam and the "Great Society" are members of a big family, and from the way government thinking is going—and how it is being received—it will no doubt be a growing family.—From the Gadsden (Ala.) Times

'Ten Pillars of Economic Wisdom'

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Physical laws apply to economics, though you would have a hard time knowing this from reading the reports of the Keynesian economists on the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Those deep thinkers believe that if you distribute nothing to enough people, it becomes something. Or they tell you that there is no need to worry about the astronomical federal debt since we "only owe it to ourselves."

This again is nonsense. The government owes it to us—and can't pay it. If I said to the Internal Revenue Service: "On a per capita basis of the national debt you owe me some 6,000 bucks; I'll just deduct that from my income tax payments," I'd end up in Lewisburg Penitentiary. If the landlord owes me \$50 I can deduct it legitimately from my rent.

All of this is preamble to a pamphlet I received in the morning's mail. That good and noble American, Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, sent it to me; otherwise I might have just put it aside and forgotten about it. This little folder is published by the American Economic Foundation (51 East 42nd Street, New York City) and is entitled "The Ten Pillars of Economic Wisdom."

Note that I said "published" and not "written." The language in the foundation's economic decalogue was gleaned from the thousands of letters it received over the years—letters from troubled Americans. Some of those who unknowingly contributed the phrases and ideas may never have studied Newtonian physics or college economics. But they were endowed by their Creator with a sense of logic.

I was struck immediately by the first "pillar" or formulation:

"Nothing in our material world can come from nowhere or go nowhere, nor can it be free; everything in our economic life has a source, a destination, and a cost that must be paid."

Would the Harvard Keynesians accept this? It seems obvious to me.

But let me move on to the second pillar:

"Government is never a source of goods. Everything produced is produced by the people and everything that government gives to the people, it must first take from the people."

Added up, they say with Sir Issac Newton, "Matter can neither be created nor destroyed." Neither can other earthly goods.

The same principle, taught everywhere in our high schools except in economics courses, applies to the third pillar:

"The only valuable money that government has to spend is that money taxed or borrowed out of the people's earnings. When government decides to spend more than it has thus received, that extra unearned money is created out of thin air, through the banks, and, when spent, takes on value only by reducing the value of all money, savings, and insurance."

In other words, if you have just so much whiskey in the jug, adding water will give you more volume but less alcohol per ounce. Bartenders who water their whiskey get into bad trouble, but a government that waters its money calls itself a Welfare State. In this country, the New and Fair Deals and the New Frontier have watered the dollar until it is worth less than half of what it was 30 years ago in purchasing power.

It's not necessary to go on with the economic decalogue. If you are interested, the American Economic Foundation will, I am sure, be happy to send you a copy. The point I have been leading up to is this: Economic laws apply to federal budgets.

The Congress is busily enacting into law the Johnson Administration's budget, and paving with good intentions the road to the "Great Society." But every program for which it appropriates large sums adds to the national debt and waters the dollar. Every measure that ignores the physical and economic laws contributes to the nation's difficulties. The more welfarism we have, the sadder grows the plight of the permanently unemployed.

Right now, the Johnson Administration, trying to find a way to subsidize substandard agriculture, is seriously considering a plan which will raise the price of bread a penny a loaf. Farms which cannot be self-supporting, no matter what, are being kept in operation by taxing the food of those who can ill afford it.

Nothing in our material world can come from nowhere, but just try to tell that to the Congress. I wish you would.

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"LIBERTY is a boisterous sea. Timid men prefer the calm of despotism."—Thomas Jefferson

Conservative View Through the Years Since Prohibition

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The View from the Lower Depths

By MORRIE RYSKIND

My mail often brings me clippings of the likeness that appears in some papers with my column, to which various embellishments have been added. These revisions usually disclosed I had a hole in my head, but recently the artists have taken to displaying my horns.

And the note this morning had this to say: "You are not merely the devil's advocate that you pretend to be. In your all-out support of Goldwater, in your stubborn resistance to all progressive legislation and, above all, in your revealing hatred of the Negro and all other minorities, you expose yourself as the devil's right-hand man, and I sometimes think maybe the devil himself. May you rot for all eternity."

Now that charge may or may not be justified, but I doubt whether it can be judged dispassionately in today's climate. Indeed, I would move for a change of venue if I knew a place where the indictment might be tried without prejudice. But at the moment I know of none, and I fear there will be no such oasis for generations to come.

For it is surely no exaggeration to say we are now torn asunder with hatred as never before in my lifetime and that the mob spirit fills the air. Everything is either—the phrase, I regret, is inevitable—black or white, and if you're not for me all the way, you're against me.

Your lynch law is inhuman, but mine is noble because it is exercised in the name of friendship and brotherly love. We may be after Cinna the conspirator, but we are prepared to hang Cinna the poet, too—if only for his bad verses.

The pressures are terrific and none of us but bows somewhat under their onslaught. I have some 20 letters from Negroes—mainly from the South, but a few from California—who say bitterly they have seen 40 years of increasing good will between the races go down the drain because of the "foreign"—the word is theirs, not mine—intrusion into their communities. Where there had been warm friendliness and understanding, there is now the cold ultrapoliteness that masks fear and suspicion.

One writes ruefully that he finds himself forced to take part in a "demonstration" which he finds completely senseless. He votes, has an excellent job with his white employers and is on the best of terms with them—but, unless he marches, he is a marked man for life.

And the other night here in Los Angeles, during an amiable discussion, a Negro attorney suddenly said, "I never yet met a white policeman whose word I could trust." This blanket indictment came not, mind you, from an ignorant black racist: this was a gentleman of some distinction who has been honored by two well-known Eastern universities. Yet that's what has happened to him.

Nor are whites immune to the contagion. I spoke just a few days ago to a local physician who has a number of colored patients. "I've known them for years," he told me sadly, "and they have always regarded me—as I have them—as a friend. Yet now when I'm called on some emergency to that part of town I find myself apprehensive. I know it isn't logical—but there it is."

Now no one I know, white or black,

Northerner or Southerner, has anything but loathing for the cowardly thugs who beat and killed the Rev. James J. Reeb in Selma. We are agreed on the importance of a speedy trial and the hope that they get the limit of legal punishment for that horrendous crime.

Yet I would ask in all earnestness—even if my horns are exposed in so doing—"Was this trip really necessary?" Were not the local authorities talking plain common sense when they pleaded

the demonstrations could no longer serve any useful purpose and might bring on bloodshed? Must no part of the blame, at least, fall on the shoulders of the organizers who dismissed this contemptuously and insisted on "here and now" though no immediate election was in prospect and it was clear that the President and the Congress were determined that every qualified Negro should get his voting rights?

Or was it all worth the life of Jim Reeb?

And was the cause really helped when 75 of those picketing Gov. George Wallace demonstrated by rising at a given signal and urinating in the streets?

Murder in Selma; police dogs in the Philadelphia subways to guard against gangs of young Negroes; stabbings in Detroit; muggings in Washington . . . What price victory?

All I can think of is that bitterly ironic phrase of Bert Leston Taylor, the famous columnist for the Chicago Tribune: "the so-called human race."

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The streets of New York City have not been safe for Rep. Adam Clayton Powell since he called Mrs. Esther James a "bag woman" (graft collector).



Should Everyone Feel Sorry For Adam Clayton Powell?

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Like most American families, the A.C. Powells of New York City are hard-pressed to make ends meet. Hubby must hold down two jobs and wife Yvette is forced to work if there is to be food on the table and clothes in the closet.

As a congressman, Mr. Powell earns but \$30,000; as a moon-lighting preacher, little more than \$14,000. Mrs. Powell, a congressional secretary, can contribute only \$19,000 to the family kitty.

With an annual income several thousand dollars below the poverty level of \$65,000, the Powells have found it impossible to meet the outlandish demands of a Harlem creditor, Mrs. Esther James. The courts have held that Mr. Powell slandered the widow James when he called her a graft collector, and now owes her something like \$256,000 (plus interest) in damages.

For several years the Powells have managed to ignore the dunning notes that Mrs. James and her lawyer, New York's Raymond Rubin, have sent to Washington. But now, Rep. Powell learns that he can go to prison for nonpayment of his debt. The lily-white Supreme Court, as the congressman could have predicted, has turned down his last appeal.

Friends of the family have set up the "Harlem Powell Fund" and are earnestly soliciting contributions from the congressman-minister's constituents and parishioners. By early March the little people of Harlem had contributed \$4,000 to their beleaguered leader and pledged another \$14,000 payable April 1. Some of the more affluent family friends are reportedly making individual donations of up to \$10,000.

Until the petty dispute with Mrs. James is settled, Rep. Powell cannot enter his beloved New York (where callous judges have issued warrants for his arrest). And the enforced absence from Gotham has severely hampered his effectiveness in Washington. Rubin has started another suit challenging Powell's right to hold his House seat on the ground that he is not now a legal resident.

On February 19, for instance, Rep. Powell was forced to rely on memory alone when he attacked unnamed grafters in the New York Police Department. In that address, delivered on the House floor, the congressman charged that Harlem cops were "sheltering" the perpetrators of an unsolved murder. And what's more, Rep. Powell named the three slayers by name.

How was he to know that one of the three sheltered thugs was then in jail, charged with that very murder? And that "wanted" flyers for the other two had been circulating for several weeks?

If only Rep. Powell had been able to investigate personally, he might not have slipped up in a second House speech, on March 10. On that date, the congressman "exposed" three "dope peddlers" operating with police protection.

Again, how was Rep. Powell to know that two of the three men had been convicted of narcotics violations and are now in jail? And that the third had been tried on a narcotics charge and acquitted earlier this year?

It's all Mrs. James' fault.

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Harmless Reds?

From the New York Daily News

Robert Glenn Thompson, 30, one-time U.S. Air Force enlisted man, later an admitted traitor and six-year spy for the Soviet Union, has remorsefully confessed all. On May 13 he will be sentenced in Brooklyn Federal Court. He could get a long prison term or, possibly, death.

Thompson, it seems, is neither a very bright nor very unusual person. But, in revealing the use the supposedly friendly Soviet government makes of potential spies, he has done the free world a definite favor.

Out of the Air Force and living on Long Island, Thompson was deemed important enough to be blackmailed into further spying by none less than the later expelled Boris V. Karpovich, of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

According to the New York Times, which withheld an interview with the repentant spy until court action had been completed, these are some grim, significant bits of strategic data demanded by the Russian: "He wanted me to supply information about water reservoirs on Long Island, on the gas lines . . . power plants . . . gas storage tanks in the area."

How much longer, do you suppose, will our liberals repeat their tired old line that U.S. Communists and their dupes are so few in number that it's simply ridiculous, my dear, to consider them dangerous to our country?

Failures of Socialism in France

From the Dallas Morning News

No matter what the problem, a growing number of our citizens these days seem ready and willing to turn to the federal government for an answer.

Having trouble paying your medical bills? Let Washington pay them for you under a Medicare program. Want more education? Apply for a government loan and demand a bigger program of federal aid to education. Living in poverty? Get yourself on welfare.

Some of our citizens are even calling for socialization of industry. Spokesmen for 22 railway unions recently demanded that the federal government take over the operation of the nation's rails. Is socialism the answer to our problems? Far more people than ever before seem to think it is. Yet socialism, historically, has been a failure.

No better (or worse) example of this fact can be cited than the experience of France—a nation whose government, while not strictly Socialistic, has experimented broadly with socialization of numerous industries and projects.

Last fall the French government was forced to concede that its medicare program was bankrupt, that socialized medicine was not the answer. Now, an official government report has revealed that most of France's 122 nationalized industries are losing money and face crises—at the same time that private industry in France is flourishing.

The report on the failure of socialized industries in France covers the period

from 1962 through the first 10 months of 1964. A few of the highlights, noted by U.S. News & World Report:

- In 1964, the government-owned railroads in France lost \$20 million. Only one passenger in four pays full fare; the rest are subsidized in one way or another.

- The government-operated gas company lost \$7 million last year.

- Financing of the huge debt run up by the government-owned electric company prevented it from making essential improvements and new investments.

- The Paris airport lost \$6 million last year. Every passenger's fare is subsidized by approximately \$1.25 per trip.

- Subways and the bus system in Paris continue to lose a great deal of money, because the sale and collection of tickets represent only a third of the system's running cost.

These facts were not presented by spokesmen for private industry in France; they are in a report prepared by the French government itself. The contrast between the success and efficiency of private industry in France and the failure and inefficiency of socialized industries there is illuminating.

Let's hope that contrast—and the lesson to be learned from it—do not escape the attention of those in our own country who would lead us farther down the dreary road toward government operation that France has followed to its peril.

Hart's 'Truth' Bill

What's in a Package?

From the Cincinnati Enquirer

Whenever the federal government is contemplating a new incursion into a hitherto untended area of American life, the U.S. public is given the impression that there is something of a clamor for governmental action.

So it is in the case of the so-called truth-in-packaging bill sponsored once again in the current session of Congress by Sen. Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.).

The Hart bill proposes, in brief, that federal law require that the net quantity of contents be stated on the front of packages; that standards be established for the location and type size of quantity statements; that such qualifying words or phrases as "giant half-gallon" or "big six ounces" be prohibited; that deceptive illustrations and information implying a sales price less than the customary retail price also be forbidden.

Sen. Hart evidently fears that the American housewife is incapable of matching wits with the packagers of the United States, that she is consistently fooled by modern merchandising techniques and that she needs, as a result, the help of the federal government in determining what constitutes a good food buy.

The opponents of the Hart bill contend that federal regulations in the area of packaging would tend to reduce competition and, as a consequence, mean higher prices. Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R.-Neb.) goes so far as to say that the Hart proposal "replaces judicial flexibility with administrative rigidity. . . and the will and wisdom of the people



Sen. Roman Hruska (R.-Neb.), left, says Sen. Philip Hart's (D.-Mich.) "truth in packaging" bill "replaces judicial flexibility with administrative rigidity."

with . . . inefficient government planning."

The most significant feature of the debate, however, comes from the Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J. On the basis of nearly 2,000 interviews, Opinion Research reports that U.S. housewives are well pleased with the present packaging of foods and non-food grocery products. On questions involving pictures and information on labels, sizes, shapes and designs of packages, housewives expressed satisfaction by margins ranging as high as 74 per cent and 84 per cent. Those calling for changes ranged from 8 per cent to 22 per cent.

There is the clear suggestion in these findings that Sen. Hart underestimates the shrewdness of the U.S. food buyer. He hears, in other words, a clamor that doesn't exist.

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DEFINITION—A "neutral nation" is one that takes Russia's side but our money.—From *The Territorial Enterprise* and *Virginia City News*

Why I Shall Vote to Maintain a Basic Human Right: The Right to Work

By SEN. JOHN G. TOWER (R.-Tex.)

In this session of Congress there will be a major assault, spurred on by certain labor bosses to whom the ultra-liberals are beholden, to strike out Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. Should it succeed, the lamp of American liberty will be further dimmed.

Relatively few Americans are aware of 14b as such, yet it guarantees a basic right to work in my state and 18 others in the Union—the right to work. Specifically, it reads: “Nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or Territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by state or territorial law.”

This guarantees the right of states to pass and enforce their own right-to-work laws making voluntary union membership lawful. Thus, in states retaining right-to-work laws, employees enjoy the freedom to work at their occupation whether or not they are union members.

Right to work means that a man cannot be forced to pay dues to an unwanted bargaining agent in order to earn a living. Right to work means that a man is free to become an active, dues-paying union member if this is in his best interest. That is the way of free men, and you and I know there can be no other course for our nation than the course of freedom.

People came to this land from all corners of the earth because they were victims of compulsion. And here they found that most satisfactory of all human freedoms: freedom of choice. Right to work guarantees this freedom of choice—the right to choose either membership or non-membership in a labor organization.

Individual Liberty

Let me make one thing clear. Right to work does not interfere in any way with legitimate union activity. It does not restrict the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively with their employers. Right-to-work laws merely guarantee any and all workers against the bane of compulsion.

I believe that our national leadership should have as its primary interest and function the preservation of individual liberty. Yet, today we are seeing a move to eliminate one of this

nation's most important freedoms. The demand by some political leaders to repeal Section 14b is strangely inconsistent with their avowed concern for the civil and human rights of all Americans.

Early in his State of the Union message, President Johnson declared that the nation is “dedicated to freedom from arbitrary power; not merely for all Americans, but for all.” Moments later, he called for changes in the Taft-Hartley Act, including Section 14b—changes that would mean a return to nationwide compulsory union membership!

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, in a Detroit address in 1963 during a Michigan celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, said: “The large edifice of civil rights is dependent on equality of employment opportunity . . . if men are to be truly free in accord with the tenets of democracy, then they must be free to seek a livelihood without prejudice.”

Compulsory Unionism

It is unfortunate that Secretary Wirtz seems to be speaking out for all men when in reality he appears to mean only some men. For as an outspoken opponent of the right to work he certainly is not including those who do not choose to unionize.

Is there “equality of employment opportunity” for the man who seeks work but cannot obtain it because of his refusal to join an organization against his will? Is the non-union worker who applies for a job in a compulsory union atmosphere “free to seek a livelihood without prejudice”?

On this score dozens of newspapers across the country have spoken out editorially. The *Portland Oregonian* said: “We see little difference in the area of human rights between denying a person employment because of color, religion, race or sex and denying a person employment because he will not join a union.” And the *Dallas Times Herald* observed: “It is illegal to deny employment to any person because of race, color, or creed. It would seem strange, therefore, to deny employment to the citizen who prefers not to join a union.”

But of course this question of freedom—of the freedom and dignity of

individual Americans—does not seem to concern certain control-hungry labor bosses. For by their attitude they ignore not only editorial comments such as those above but also a clear-cut majority view of the American people.

Polls Support RTW

Public support for the right-to-work principle is now at an all-time high. According to a 1964 nationwide survey by Opinion Research Corp., 67 per cent of our nation's people believe that no citizen should be forced to join a union in order to hold a job!

This figure is all the more interesting when it is noted that a 1956 survey showed that just under half of the population favored right to work and that the figure rose to 62 per cent in 1962. Clearly, our people have been developing a growing preference for voluntary unionism.

Why, in the face of this nationwide, nonpartisan groundswell of support for voluntary union membership, are certain labor bosses so adamant in their demand for repeal of Section 14b? The answer is power.

Under compulsory unionism, labor bosses are free of any real responsibility to their members. When a person is forced to join, forced to pay dues and not guaranteed a voice in union affairs, there is no checkrein on the union boss.

Of course, in defending right to work, I have been speaking in terms of what I consider paramount—freedom of choice. But what of the other aspects of this question? What of the “bread and butter” arguments advanced by the union bosses in defense of compulsory unionism?

One of the most often heard comments is that the strength of the union movement, its very security, depends upon universal acceptance of membership. But it is a plain historical fact that unions have increased their power to such an extent over the past 30 years that they need have no worries about being secure.

Another contention is that majority rule should prevail in a shop, and therefore the minority should be required to join a union should the majority so dictate. This is a wholly fictitious argument because our labor laws, enacted through the demands of the unions themselves, already require the minority of employees who are not members of a labor union to accept the terms and work under the contracts of the majority.

It is also argued that, since unions negotiate for the benefits of all workers, all workers should be compelled to contribute to the cost of maintaining union activities. This so-called “free rider” argument is fundamentally unsound because a labor union is a private organization. Throughout our society we have voluntary organizations which carry on activities beneficial to a great many who do not contribute any financial or other support.

If we enforce compulsory unionism because of this argument, then why shouldn't all residents be forced to join the dominant church or other organization in a community? In relation to this analogy, the Preamble to the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom (which was the forerunner of Article I of the



In this article Sen. Tower argues against repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Bill of Rights) declared: “To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical.”

Possibly, the argument union bosses attempt to press home hardest is that right to work means wages will be depressed and the economy stifled wherever it is allowed.

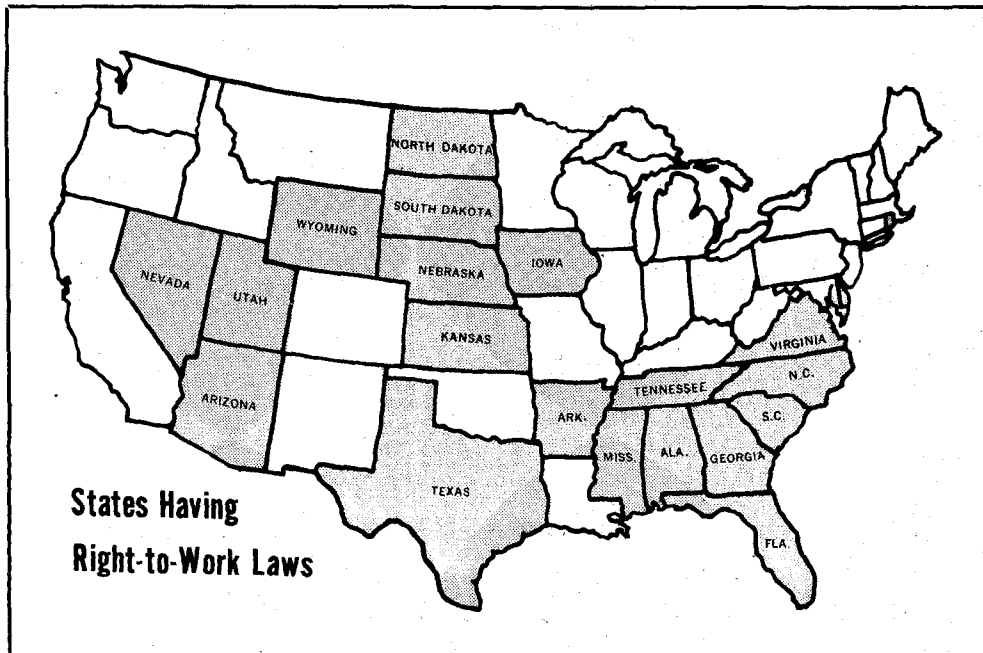
Yet, the latest official statistics published by the Department of Labor show that right-to-work states lead the rest of the nation percentage-wise in the creation of new jobs in business and industry and in wage improvement in industrial jobs. Right-to-work states show a greater gain in producing new wealth and personal income than do non-right-to-work states.

These statistics—again I point out they were compiled by the U.S. Department of Labor—show that among the top 15 states in wages paid industrial workers seven were right-to-work states. And I might add proudly that my own state of Texas, which has had a right-to-work law since 1947, last year ranked second in the nation in attracting new industry. And the top three states in the nation for new jobs created—Arizona, Nevada and Florida—are all right-to-work states.

The figures prove what we already know; that man prospers in an atmosphere of freedom, but that he is stunted in the shadow of compulsion.

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THE PENDULUM SWINGS AGAIN—In the early part of this century when “Uncle Joe” Cannon was Speaker of the House and exercised dictatorial authority, the liberals in that day were able to revise the House rules and strip the Speaker of such powers. This year the liberals of the House passed two changes in the House rules which restore dictatorial powers to the Speaker. One rule provides that after the Rules Committee has had a piece of legislation before it for 21 days and has failed to report it, the Speaker may recognize the chairman of the legislative committee reporting the bill, or a member of that committee, for the purpose of bringing the bill before the House. In the second case, the Speaker may recognize a chairman or a member of a legislative committee for the purpose of making a motion to refer a bill directly to a conference with the Senate, rather than again referring it to the Rules Committee. Please note that in each case the Speaker holds the complete discretion.—Rep. J. Arthur Younger (R.-Calif.)



Foreign Aid Nears \$113 Billion

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The floating crap game known as our foreign aid program is again under debate. And as the total outpourings now pass \$113 billion (this year's request is \$3.38 billion) somebody might well remember that our creditors abroad already have us over an A-frame.

No nation in all history has given so much and asked so little as the United States. That's another reason we can be proud we're Americans. But only a solvent America can be a helping America. We must donate our substance according to our means and not according to our desires.

Any meat-ax attack on the foreign aid bill is foolhardy and dangerous. What would happen if we eliminated our aid to South Korea? But our free programs as a whole have long since become too large to support and too complex to understand.

Endless reorganizations of the Agency for International Development, always with alibis, merely serve as promises each time the appropriation bill comes up. Yet—hey! That's our money.

It's terribly hard for a family breadwinner to put aside anything for his own loved ones. The 1939 dollar is worth less than 45 cents today and all who depend on pensions, annuities or savings and have been thrifty throughout their lives have been disgracefully victimized by our own government's erosion of the dollar's value. Public servants have no more right to waste our money than you or I have to rob a bank.

Year after year our tax payments pass into rich people's pockets around the world—jingle, jangle, jingle, the Yankee dollar—and precious little reaches the poor.

Maryland-sized Burundi, bordering the Congo, has been the toy of King Mwambutsa ("the Mwami") for 46 oppressive years. This Stone Age fiefdom hasn't so much as a single newspaper and no economic base whatever. It has, nevertheless, flocks of 1965 sports cars for its officials—and a U.N. vote that weighs as heavily as that of the United States, invariably cast against us. Our tax dollars should pull out of Burundi.

Ghana Red stooge Nkrumah luxuriates like an opulent spider in the lavish castle of Christianborg, near Accra, with Russian bodyguards. The whole set-up is loaded with the life of high crime which in such "nations" stands for politics. Our tax dollars should pull out of Ghana and the like.

Moreover, our aid should practice full disclosure, and it comes a million miles from doing that. By what right? The agency is a cottage filled with secret nooks.

For example, shipping our wheat halfway around the world is only part of the problem of helping to feed India. Indian government red tape and recalcitrance often bring us to bended knees in order to deliver about 600,000 tons—yes, 600,000 tons—a month.

Behind the scenes four U.S. Maritime Administration investigators have made a report that our public has not seen, although we foot the bill, every penny.

Fiction's Flying Dutchman sailed on and on because God doomed him to sail on. New Delhi, not a deity, has a similar effect on our

wheat ships. The undisclosed official U.S. report reveals that everything collapses when the Indians coordinate the simultaneous unloadings at required ports. They jam some docks too full to function and our ships must sail round and round while other ports are bare as a newborn babe.

Then when stevedores finally do get aboard they transfer the cargo into bags by the handful, alas. They stitch these against leakage, if they can sew, tote them on their backs and take them either to the nearest railroad station—or home.

The report reveals that the bags are largely so unfit to hold anything that bursting and spillage on docks, streets and in warehouses would make any sane man wonder how we can deliver 600,000 tons of the U.S. taxpayers' wheat this way every 30 days. But does our public know it?

In this writer's opinion, the only places in the world today where we should supply free economic aid are to military zones like South Korea and South Viet Nam where our own fighting forces are present in the defense of freedom and the security of the United States.

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"WE MUST BEWARE of trying to build a society in which nobody counts for anything, except the politician or an official, a society where enterprise gains no rewards and thrift no privileges."
—Winston S. Churchill

Rep. Curtis' Corollary to Gresham's Law

From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat

In 1558 Sir Thomas Gresham, financial agent of the crown, painstakingly explained to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth that when two or more kinds of money of equal denomination—but unequal intrinsic value—are in circulation, the one with the greater value is hoarded and exported. Basically, the Good Knight explained to the Virgin Queen, bad money drives out good money.

Some 299 years later the economic principle was given the name of Gresham's law. Now more than a century later on the floor of Congress there has been appended Curtis' Corollary—government money drives out private capital.



Rep. Thomas Curtis (R-Mo.) wants the Alliance for Progress to stop blindly pouring money into Latin America.

While the news has yet to be hailed on the fields of academe, Rep. Thomas B. Curtis' corollary certainly seems to hold true for the Alliance for Progress, which program is in need of re-evaluation.

As envisioned under the alliance, \$20 billion in investment monies would go south of the Rio Grande, half of it from private sources. But Mr. Curtis charges that, as the government dollars are being sent into Latin America, not only has the private sector not caught up, but it has actually declined during those years.

Nor is it just American capital that is being withdrawn. Latin capital is likewise being pulled out.

Mr. Curtis suggests, and we second it, that the Alliance for Progress stop blindly pouring in dollars as though all is going according to plan, when all is quite obviously not going according to plan. It is time an exhaustive reappraisal was made of the entire Alliance for Progress program.

Pointing to our payments imbalance, Mr. Curtis asks why 90 per cent of the programs are for service—not goods—which further aggravates the problem.

Mr. Curtis asks why the Bank Fund for Special Operations—which lends to governments whose payments problems prevent their getting conventional loans—encourages Latins to spend the money in Latin America rather than here. How can one justify this type of operation

when we face a critical payments problem ourselves?

What Mr. Curtis is asking is that the Johnson Administration, which is calling on one and all to cut back on expenditures abroad, starts practicing a little bit of what it is so piously preaching.

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IN GOOD COMPANY—A harried businessman asked his physician for a prescription for sleeping pills, explaining, "I'm allergic to the kind you gave me last time. Isn't there some other kind?" "Well," the doctor said, "we might try. . . ." "What about this two-light sleep I've been hearing so much about?" the businessman interrupted. "Oh goodness, that's for labor," the doctor explained. "For heaven's sake," wailed the executive, "haven't you got anything for management?"—From *The Right Hand*

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"MEDICARE as proposed by the Administration—compulsory in participation, unlimited in possible expansion, indefinite in cost and inadequate for the need—does not justify support. The ingenuity which has made the United States a nation of the healthiest people in the world can certainly devise a more realistic and wholesome health care program."—Sen. James B. Pearson (R-Kan.)

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"UNIVERSAL IDLENESS would speedily result in universal ruin."—Abraham Lincoln



Courtesy Nashville Banner



Panorama of New York's World Fair.

Pose Immigration, Security Problems

'World's Fair Visitors' Are Staying by Thousands

From the Allen-Scott Report

"Visit the World's Fair!"

That's the magic password being used to avoid red tape in migrating from Latin America to the United States.

Like "the man who came to dinner," thousands of Latin Americans are doing just that. Coming to New York as World's Fair tourists, they are staying on and settling in the large cities.

This exodus is giving U.S. Immigration officials one of their biggest security headaches, particularly as Cuban dictator Castro has been routing some of his own agents to the fair and the United States via Latin American nations.

The upswing in immigration also is gradually changing the complexion of some of the larger cities with this new influx of Spanish-speaking people.

These are the confidential findings immigration authorities from New York and other areas have turned over to the House Immigration Subcommittee, headed by Rep. Michael Feighan, (D.-Ohio).

The officials, who asked that their names not be revealed, reported that under the Johnson Administration's "good neighbor" immigration policy, more than 90 per cent of these "World's Fair visitors" are being allowed to remain.

They pointed out that the Latin Americans obtain "visitor's" permits, fly to New York, spend a few days at the fair, and then start looking for a place to settle down.

Once they have found a job, they petition the Immigration Service for a change in status from "visitor" to "permanent."

Since most of the Latin Americans come to the United States with six-month or one-year visitor's permits, they have plenty of time to decide where they want to settle before writing home for the rest of the family to "visit the fair."

According to immigration authorities, "It is the official policy of the Administration" to let all these "visitors" stay unless they have criminal or subversive records.

The present immigration law does not set a quota on the number of persons entering the United States from other Western Hemisphere countries. However, under the regular procedures, Latin Americans are required to have a sponsor and a promise of a job before they are allowed entry as permanent residents.

One feeble effort to stop this traffic has failed. Visa officers in U.S. embassies in Latin America were instructed to require all World's Fair "tourists" to show round-trip tickets. This hasn't affected the flow of Latin "visitors," as most of them have discovered they can easily cash in their return tickets.

The significance of the new influx is shown in a survey taken of the New York area and submitted to Rep. Feighan, whose subcommittee is holding hearings on President Johnson's proposals to revamp the immigration laws.

It reveals that Puerto Ricans no longer comprise the majority of Spanish-speaking residents of New York. The recent upsurge of Latin American immigrants has raised their total in New York to 724,375, as compared to 720,000 from Puerto Rico, which of course has no U.S. immigration restrictions.

In the last 18 months 250,000 Latin Americans have emigrated to New York. More than 10,000 entered on visitor's permits and stayed on. Others left their homelands because of unsettled political and economic conditions.

During the past year, continues the survey, 26,814 people came to New York from Argentina, 23,941 from Colombia, and 23,843 from Venezuela.

According to the study, Cubans form the largest non-Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking group in New York, totaling 300,000. Most of them are anti-Castroites who fled to the United States when the Communists took over the island. Immigrants from the Dominican Republic, numbering 100,000, were listed as the next largest group.

With the World's Fair to reopen in April, immigration authorities are alerting their inspectors to be prepared to handle a still larger traffic

from Latin America. U.S. embassies south of the border are reporting record requests for "visitor" visas from persons planning to come to the fair.

Members of the Feighan subcommittee are studying means of curbing this roundabout method of immigrating to the United States. They also plan to place an over-all ceiling, probably 300,000, on the number who can enter the United States each year.

Although the latter limitation would apply to all foreign nations, its effect would be to hold Latin American immigration to approximately its present level. At present, there is no over-all ceiling on immigrants. An estimated 300,000 persons annually have been permitted to enter the United States during the past 10 years.

During 1964, 31,324 immigrant visas were granted to Mexicans. This figure was topped in the Western Hemisphere only by the 38,604 granted to Canadians. An additional 16,088 Cubans, all refugees from Castro's regime, were permitted to enter the United States the past year.

(Distributed 1965
by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

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COVER-UP—Sen. Jordan (N.C.) says his committee has done a "wonderful job" on the Bobby Baker case. In fact, it may go down as the best cover-up since the invention of blankets.—Lyn Nofziger in the San Diego *Union*

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IN THE DARK—One of the most frequent criticisms of the United Nations is that the lights are never turned off at U.N. headquarters. The point is debatable. The membership is usually in the dark even with them burning.—From the Minneapolis *Tribune*

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LBJ's 'Voting Rights' Bill Must Be Defeated

As deeply as the most zealous advocate of civil rights, *Human Events* believes that no government—federal, state or local—should discriminate against any person because of race, color or creed. Equality before the law is a fundamental concept of American government. But as we pointed out on our front page last week, we are vigorously opposed to the political legislation which President Lyndon Johnson chooses to call a voting rights bill. (For further discussion, see Sen. Thurmond's article on this page.)

For one thing, we believe that the laws already on the books, including three federal civil rights acts, have not yet been proved inadequate for the protection of Negro voting rights. There has been some obvious discrimination in the South, but this is being rectified in the courts. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that apathy and lack of education have been at least as important as discrimination in keeping the Negro vote comparatively low.

In fact, how low has the Negro vote been? The figures show that non-voting is hardly as all-pervasive as President Johnson has suggested.

The Southern Regional Council, which champions Negro rights in the South, reveals that in the 11 Southern states the total number of registered Negroes more than doubled between 1952 and 1964. Thus, 43.3 per cent of all voting-age Negroes in the South, or over 2.2 million, were registered in the last election.

The council also estimates that the number of Negroes who cast ballots in 1964 was twice the number who voted in 1960.

Another facet of the situation being ignored by civil rights enthusiasts: According to the council, Negroes increased their registration and voting participation in each of the five Deep South states which are singled out by the President's bill: Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana and Georgia. (The bill also affects Alaska and Virginia, 34 counties in North Carolina and one county each in Arizona, Idaho and Maine.)

In Alabama, for example, the number of registered Negroes in 1964 represented a 50 per cent jump over the number registered in 1960. There was over a 100 per cent increase in Negro registration in South Carolina this year over four years ago.

Whatever the defects in the South's voting laws, the recent past record is hardly one which calls for the drastic political legislation presented by President Lyndon Johnson.

We cannot stress strongly enough that this is *not* a voting rights measure to end discrimination in the United States. Instead, it is a measure which clearly subverts the constitutional provision giving the states the power to determine the qualifications of voters in national, state and local elections.

This is *not* an anti-discriminatory measure; it is, however, a discriminatory piece of legislation. It is discriminatory because under it the federal government can appoint federal registrars in states in which there is no court determination that discrimination is being practiced.

It is discriminatory because it

abolishes in certain states, but not others, literacy tests, moral tests and other legitimate qualifications required of voters—qualifications which have been upheld by the Supreme Court, itself, when administered impartially. (See box.)

It is discriminatory because it only applies to states in which less than 50 per cent of the persons of voting age residing in the state or in any political subdivision were registered on Nov. 1, 1964, or in which less than 50 per cent of such residents voted in the presidential election last November.

It is discriminatory because, in the words of New York *Times* columnist Arthur Krock, "Its penalties will be imposed on states *ex post facto*, not for violations after it becomes law, but for those determined by the attorney general to have existed at the time of the presidential election of 1964, an arbitrarily chosen date."

It is discriminatory because under it the federal government will be able to register functionally illiterate Negroes in states in which the historic voting pattern of Negroes is to vote heavily Democratic.

Remarks Krock: "It is a well known American habit to register for voting and then go fishing on election day. But under the President's bill, even a state where more than 50 per cent of the eligibles have been registered will be forced for 10 years to enfranchise all illiterates of voting age . . ."

Few will deny that federal courts should strike down discriminatory state tests. But under the Johnson proposals any voting qualification tests can be struck down by federal registrars without proof of discrimination. We quote from the bill itself as to what is meant by a test:

"The phrase 'test or device' shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowledge of any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character . . ."

In addition, the states that immediately come under the scope of Johnson proposals could only get rid of the federal registrars if they could prove to a three-judge district court convened in the District of Columbia that no person acting "under color of law" had engaged in voting discrimination during the past 10 years. Since discrimination was prevalent in most of these states 10 years ago, this will be an almost impossible task.

In short, this Johnson political gimmick should be tossed into the wastebasket.

Human Events is fully aware that a voting rights bill, pitched to the emotion of the civil rights crusaders, will probably pass in this session of Congress. But the voters of each state should certainly start bombarding their congressmen with letters to make sure that some sanity creeps into the Johnson measure which is currently fashioned to obliterate the rights of the several states.

If this bill is allowed to pass, surely the day will come when federal registrars will be setting the voting regulations of all 50 states.

Court Has Upheld Constitutionality Of State Voter Qualification Laws

Syndicated columnist James Jackson Kilpatrick says a "whole body of long-established law would be violated by the President's ['voting rights'] bill." He defends his position with the following explanation:

Under our federal system, the power to fix qualifications for voting clearly is lodged with the states. Article 8, Section 2, of the Constitution spells it out: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature." In the whole of the Constitution, no more explicit provision can be found.

Time after time, the Supreme Court itself has emphasized this reservation of power to the states. Just six years ago this spring, in the *Lassiter* case from North Carolina, the high court expressly reaffirmed an unbroken series of opinions to this effect: "The states have long been held to have broad powers to determine the conditions under which the rights of suffrage may be exercised, absent, of course, the discrimination which the Constitution condemns. . . . The right of suffrage is subject to the imposition of state standards which are not discriminatory. . . . We do not suggest that any standards which a state desires to adopt may be required of voters. But

there is wide scope for exercise of its jurisdiction. Residence requirements, age, previous criminal record, are obvious examples indicating factors which a state may take into consideration in determining the qualifications of voters. . . ."

In the particular context of Mr. Johnson's bill, we should note carefully what this unanimous court went on to say: "The ability to read and write likewise has the relation to standards designed to promote intelligent use of the ballot. Literacy and illiteracy are neutral on race, creed, color and sex, as reports around the world show. . . . In our society, where newspapers, periodicals, books and other printed matter canvass and debate campaign issues, a state might conclude that only those who are literate should exercise the franchise."

In the final paragraph of this 1959 opinion, the Supreme Court condemned those trumped-up "literacy tests" that have been employed in some cases as "a device to make racial discrimination easy." But it said no such charge could be fairly brought against North Carolina's requirement that a prospective voter "be able to read and write any section of the Constitution of North Carolina in the English language."

"That seems to us," said the court, "to be one fair way of determining whether a person is literate, not a calculated scheme to lay a trap for the citizen."

What the President Didn't Say

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R-S.C.)

The President *told* the nation that the denial of voting rights to Negro citizens in Selma, Ala., had demonstrated the need for a new law.

The President *did not tell* the nation that on Feb. 4, 1965, a federal court, acting under the civil rights acts of 1960 and 1964, had made it possible for all Negroes who could read and write in Dallas County, in which Selma is located, to register and vote in the next election, and that the court order provided that the federal voting referee, already appointed by the court, would register all who wanted to register and were not registered by July 1965.

The President *told* the nation that present law could not secure the ballot for Negro citizens.

The President *did not tell* the nation that in Selma, Ala., itself, the right to vote in the next election had already been insured under existing law for all Negroes who could read and write. He did not tell the nation that there are already 16 federal laws, six criminal and 10 civil, on the books to protect voting rights, including laws to protect voting rights of minorities enacted in 1957, in 1960 and 1964. He did not tell the nation that the civil rights act of 1960 already provides for the appointment of federal voting referees.

The President *told* the nation that the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibited the denial of the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The President *did not tell* the nation that the Fifteenth Amendment is self-executing—that is, that it can be enforced by the courts without any legislation being passed by the Congress.

The President *told* the nation that his legislation would override state eligibility requirements wherever 50 per cent of eligible voters are not registered to vote or did not vote.

The President *did not tell* the nation that his voting law formula is so drawn that it would apply to the entirety of six states, five of which just happen to have cast their electoral votes against him in the election last fall, and in some of which, such as South Carolina, there have been no restrictions and complaints whatever against registration and voting of any qualified person.

I oppose the denial of the right to vote to any qualified citizen, but I oppose just as adamantly any attempted power grab by the President and Congress, which defies the Constitution, and I oppose most of all any submission by the government to lawless mob rule and invitations by the government to anarchy.

Book Review

By
WALTER
TROHAN

For more than three decades the so-called liberals have played the dominant role in America. They shaped the nation at home and the world abroad through wishful thinking and violent insistence.

They are the architects of the agony and loss we know today, but do not have the courage to acknowledge it. Instead, they have belabored their conservative opposition for the anguish and woes, the menaces and dangers, and the dilemmas and confusions that abound today.

James J. Martin, professor of history at Deep Springs College in California, has undertaken a definite study of the liberals and their influence on world politics before, during and after World War II. The first two volumes of that study have been published by Devin-Adair, under the title *American Liberalism and World Politics*. It is a monumental study of 1,337 pages and rather costly at \$22.50 the set, yet it is fascinating and required reading for any student of contemporary history.

For his study, Martin undertook to read every writing on foreign affairs by about 250 liberals in 10 liberal opinion-making journals, which must have been something like rolling a peanut with one's nose through purgatory.

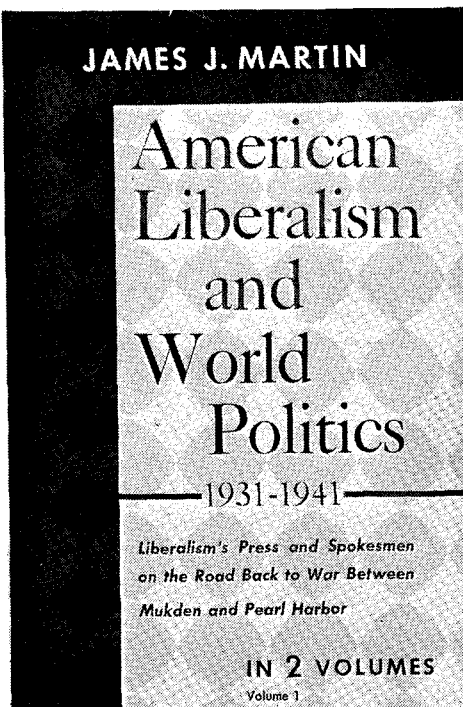
The first two volumes cover the decade from the Mukden incident of 1931, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which some historians consider the real beginning of World War II, to Pearl Harbor. Martin does not condemn or berate; he lets the liberals indict themselves.

Everything is in that fateful decade—the Sino-Japanese conflict, in which Chinese communism was to be preferred to Japanese expansion; the emergence of Mussolini from a pampered Socialist to a would-be Caesar in the conquest of Ethiopia; the rise of Hitler, whose socialism was a target of hostility from his beginnings in racism; the Spanish civil war, the rehearsal for World War II; and the condemnation of totalitarianism which shifted to growing acceptance and even enthusiastic support of the Russian and Chinese brands.

No one can say it's a pretty story, but it's an important one. The liberals began as pacifists, ready to fight anyone but the armed enemy, and ended as the most violent of war mongers, thus giving rise to the definition of a liberal as a man who has changed his mind.

Anyone can change his mind, even a liberal, but liberals shout so loud that they are right, and fight off any question of their judgment with such blood curdling war whoops, that one must wonder.

For, as John Chamberlain, once the darling of liberals and now regarded as beyond the pale because he did not join in sounding the war trumpet, says:



"Either the liberals were wrong at the beginning of the decade of the '30s, or they were wrong at the end, which says little for the quality of their claim to intellectual leadership of the community. The record is either one of premises falsely checked or axioms mistakenly abandoned."

The liberals began hating totalitarianism and have wound up embracing some totalitarianism. They are the appeasers and negotiators in the interest of peace which they abandoned in the great intellectual flip-flop of the decade detailed by Martin.

The important lesson of this study can be summed up in the question: How can any school of thinkers who have been proved so wrong in one of the most important decades of history pretend to be so right today? It's their world and it is not brave or one even very new.

(Copyright 1965, Chicago Tribune)

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\$100 BILLION WASTE—A veteran Washington correspondent charged recently that billions of federal taxpayer dollars are squandered annually through "ineptitude and ignorance." The Associated Press' Ben Price suggested that waste over the past 20 years amounts to about \$100 billion, or \$512 each for every man, woman and child in the nation. In recent years, Price said, taxpayer dollars have gone to: • Build a highway which starts nowhere and ends up in the same place, not to mention another overseas highway that began to sink below the ground even before the final leg was completed. • Ship an unspecified number of hay bales, each costing \$2,000, to a desert nation where, as one senator put it, a miracle would have been needed to grow a bale of hay. • Buy \$5.1 billion worth of raw ores and other commodities for the nation's strategic stockpile which were in excess of needs. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's Pentagon came in for severe criticism. The Defense Department, Price said, spent \$1 billion for preliminary work on an airplane for which there was no clear military requirement. It purchased \$20,000 generators for \$160,000 each and was bilked for billions by contractors who overcharged the government for everything from small electric motors to ballistic missiles.

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\$37-BILLION BILL—A total of 91 nations owe the United States \$37 billion in outstanding loans, Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon recently revealed. Several billion dollars date back to World War I and Dillon held out little hope for their collection.

Idea of U.S.-Soviet Canal Just Doesn't Hold Water

By MICHAEL PADEV in the Indianapolis Star

The idea to ask the Soviets to help us build another Panama Canal should receive first prize in an international nonsense contest.

It is difficult to imagine an international venture which could do more harm to United States foreign policy positions. Fortunately, there is not one chance in a million that this strange idea would ever be accepted by the Johnson Administration. Still, the fact that such a proposal was made recently by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) is extremely alarming. Fulbright is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and is known to have considerable influence on Capitol Hill. He, of all people in Washington, should know better.

The Soviet government, as we all know, is doing its utmost to expand Communist influence throughout the whole of Latin America. With or without the help of Castro's Cuba, Communist agitators are busy in every Latin American state fighting the Communist war against the United States.

The Communists are especially active in the Central American states, the most



The proposal for a joint canal was made by J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

probable site of the new canal. In all these states, U.S. diplomacy is facing considerable difficulties in trying to help local patriots fight effectively the Communist menace. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent and are being spent in Latin America for economic growth and development projects—all said to help the struggle against communism.

What will Latin Americans think if, one day, the U.S. government approaches the government of Panama or Colombia or Costa Rica (where the canal might be built) in the name of a joint Soviet-American canal building enterprise?

The answer is obvious and inevitable. They will think that the Communist danger is a thing of the past. If the United States decides to co-operate with Moscow on one of the most important building projects in the world, what can the Latin American countries do? Nothing but co-operate themselves—with Soviet Russia.

The flood gates holding back the Communist wave of aggression, subversion and agitation directed at Latin America would thus be opened—by the U.S.-Soviet "economic experts" who would work in every Latin American state as "freely" as they work today

in Cuba, helping build a Communist-Socialist economy. Among other things, this would bring confiscation and expropriation of all American privately owned or privately supported business enterprises.

But the effect on the world outside Latin America would be equally disastrous. Why should South Viet Nam fight the Communists when its protector and adviser, the great United States, co-operates with them? Why should European states bother to keep the anti-Soviet NATO alliance alive?

If the United States can ask Soviet Russia to build and control jointly an Atlantic-Pacific canal, why shouldn't Turkey ask Russia for a joint Soviet-Turkey control board of the Bosphorus Straits and the Dardanelles? What about a new international authority, with Soviet participation, for the Suez Canal? Why shouldn't Britain or Spain ask Moscow for help concerning the control of Gibraltar?

Those Americans who talk so lightly about future U.S.-Soviet deals or joint U.S.-Soviet co-operation projects should not forget that the rest of the world can co-operate with Soviet Russia, too.

Once the United States starts walking on the road toward co-operation with Moscow, the rest of the world, including the United States, would then be just around the corner.

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POLITICAL BOMBINGS—Columnist Walter Lippmann, sometime adviser to President Lyndon Johnson, made several highly provocative comments in a 60-minute interview on the CBS television network, February 22. One section that caught the attention of observers of the Viet Nam situation was the following colloquy between moderator Eric Sevareid and Lippmann: "... the President is not a warhawk," Lippmann declared. "The President's policy in bombing is a very strictly controlled and regulated policy. We're not bombing North Viet Nam, we're bombing the borderland above the 17th parallel, which is rather empty country, and we signal our attacks and they know when we're coming. There's no surprise attack, and they are really public relations jobs, much more than they are military jobs." An astonished Sevareid asked: "They're political bombings?" Lippmann repeated: "They're political bombings, and they don't kill many people. I don't think they kill anybody. There's no evidence that they do, because what we bomb is wooden sheds."

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GRATITUDE—U. S. diplomats on February 26 agreed to "loan" the government of Pakistan \$10.4 million for public health measures. Four days later, the Pakistanis announced "that as far as we are concerned Nationalist China does not exist." (The total U.S. aid to Pakistan totals more than \$2.6 billion.)

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Training of Indonesians Continues

From the Allen-Scott Report

Twenty-six Indonesian military officers are quietly being permitted to continue their training in this country, despite President Sukarno's seizure of U.S. property and destruction of USIA libraries there.

According to a report furnished the House Foreign Affairs Committee by Gen. Robert J. Wood, director of the Military Assistance Program, these Indonesians are studying everything from intelligence gathering procedures to how to fly multi-engine planes.

Seven of the Indonesians are in ad-

vance pilot training at the Pensacola, Fla., Naval Station. Other trainees and their locations are:

Camp Lejeune, N.C., 5; Fort Leavenworth, Kans., 2; Fort Belvoir, Va. 2; San Diego, Calif., 2; Lowry Air Force Base, Colo., 2; Kessler Air Force Base, Miss., 2; Florida State University, 1; George Washington University, 1; Fort Benning, Ga., 1.

One officer is hospitalized at Walter Reed Hospital, on the outskirts of Washington, D.C.

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Obscenity at Berkeley

Everybody Craves Limits

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

So you want a permissive father? Dr. Clark Kerr, the president of all nine campuses of the great decentralized University of California, is about as good a permissive parent as anyone could want. As one of his more friendly critics puts it, he is the "sort of man who is willing to hear his son out, willing to slap the boy down if he gets too far out, but an understanding parent when it comes to knowing that a 'generational' war exists."

So what happens to this best of permissive fathers? A 22-year-old non-student who affects conventional beatnik dress or non-dress (Beatle-browed non-haircut, shoeless and sockless feet even when slouching on city pavements)



University of California President Clark Kerr meets with Gov. Edmund G. Brown after withdrawing his resignation.

waves a placard proclaiming a four-letter obscenity in front of the Berkeley campus Student Union, and the roof caves in.

Disgusted that an undergraduate free speech movement could degenerate, after months of effort at patient understanding, into a filthy speech movement (a handful of genuine students joined the beatnik in the obscenity parade), Dr. Kerr offered his resignation as permissive father of 70,000 University of California students. Later on, at a Board of Regents meeting, he reconsidered the resignation and decided to stay on. He had, in effect, extracted from the regents a vote of confidence.

But it will be a long time before the permissive father of 70,000 California students has things under control unless, like Gen. Lucius Clay in Berlin or Lyndon Johnson in South Viet Nam, he is willing to "draw a line" that will say "so far and no farther."

Your reporter was conducted around the Berkeley campus by a retired professor who held no particular brief for the accused cop-biter, Mario Savio, or "Marxian Socialist" Bettina Aptheker or any of the other instigators of the Free Speech Movement that led to the big mass demonstrations and sit-ins last autumn. It seemed to this professor that speech has always been singularly free at Berkeley.

I was taken to an esplanade that is always open to any Hyde Park-type orator. But the students have ignored the esplanade. They have preferred to

agitate elsewhere. And previous to last summer they had always done extra-campus political recruiting and money-raising on a strip of land on Bancroft Way just outside the main university gate.

This created a supposedly legalized area for political solicitation. But suddenly, after pickets had been recruited at the Bancroft Way strip for demonstrations outside the Republican convention at the Cow Palace, it was discovered that use of the area in front of the university gate was revocable.

Nobody at first seemed to know what portion of the land in question belonged to the city of Berkeley and what belonged to the university itself, though it was later ascertained that markers existed. It was, so to speak, a Berlin corridor situation all over again.

So the whole history of the Berkeley "chaos" goes back to an initial imprecision about "rights." Dr. Kerr, the good permissive father who insists on "due process" for his students before he will permit any of them to be fired, has been victimized by the fact that his own "children" haven't known quite what they are permitted to push against.

The moral would seem to be that students both need and want the "law" just as much as any segment of society needs and wants it. The law must be stated clearly, not left to the winds of chance and undeliberated change. And youthful followers of old Henry David Thoreau, who willingly went to jail rather than pay taxes to support the Mexican War, must be prepared to suffer penalties if they break the law.

Dr. Kerr, the good permissive father, is now being denounced by Mario Savio's Free Speech Movement for being "two-faced." Considering what Dr. Kerr has done to protect Mario Savio, this is a supreme irony. But it is what happens when a generation that is paradoxically seeking "involvement" in protest against a world of uninvolved parents discovers that the permissive father can't be quite as uninvolved as all that. Dr. Kerr is finally reaching for involvement in a clarified law. The action is late, but better late than never.

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DID YOU NOTICE?—"U.S. Budget Strikes At Cancer." So read a headline in another newspaper recently. With the federal budget now almost \$25 billion higher than it was in 1960, perhaps the headlines should read "U.S. Budget Strikes At Taxpayer."—From the Indianapolis Star

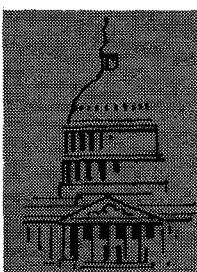
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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"It is unlawful for a U. S. government official or agency to use tax money, or federal employees' time to propagandize the American people. However, these laws which provide criminal penalties for their violation lie gathering dust, because in line with Administration policy to violate them, the attorney general fails to enforce them."—Rep. Tom Curtis (R.-Mo.)

Education Bill

By REP. WILLIAM BROCK (R.-Tenn.)

There is something wrong with legislation which aims to upgrade education and then sends the most money into areas that were well equipped to do the upgrading on their own—yet the Administration's proposed federal aid bill does just this. To illustrate the inequity, compare Westchester County, New York with Sunflower County, Mississippi. Westchester, with 6,210 children in families of less than \$2,000 income, will receive \$2,189,026. Sunflower, with 6,184 children (about the same number) in this category will receive \$745,873. Thus the sixth richest county will get \$352.00 per child while one of the nation's poorest will get only \$122.00 per child, or about one third as much per child. Of course, Westchester County's average family in-



come of \$8,052.00 is more than four times greater than Sunflower's \$1,790.00, and thus they are already far more able to meet the needs of these children, rich or poor. It seems the proposed bill of federal aid to secondary and elementary education will serve to widen the gap of opportunity.

Reasoning Together

By REP. RALPH HARVEY (R.-Ind.)

The President has a favorite phrase which he uses, from the Bible, "Come now, and let us reason together." It has been pointed out, however, that the two verses which follow this one in Chapter 1 of Isaiah should be used to further explain the "Great Society"—"19. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: 20. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." To put it another

way, in modern-day terms, "Heed the 'reasoning' from Washington, or else!"

Obedying the Law

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

The citizen has the right and the responsibility to disapprove objectionable laws and criticize those who make them and enforce them. This, however, is not the same as saying that the citizen has the right to ignore and break the law. Clearly, he has the right to proceed by lawful means to have those laws changed or repealed and to punish law-enforcement officials who abuse their powers. But until those laws have been changed or repealed, he has the clear responsibility to obey them himself and support officials who,



in the discharge of their lawful duties, are lawfully requiring others to obey them.

Gold Crisis

By REP. PAUL FINDLEY (R.-Ill.)

The United States has only half enough gold to cover the foreign claims on our currency, and Britain has only one-sixth enough to back up foreign claims against the pound. If a run on either the dollar or the pound should occur, our monetary system could collapse like a house of cards, and the collapse would spread unemployment and depression on which communism thrives. President Johnson has assured the world that the dollar is as good as gold. But what really counts is how foreign bankers and statesmen rate the dollar. When they see continued budget deficits, proposed new spending programs, and gold reserves only half big enough to meet outstanding claims, small wonder they get nervous.

St. Patrick's Day in Congress No Holiday for Supreme Court

The gentlemen in the House of Representatives had a time of it on Saint Patrick's day! There they were, Republicans and Democrats, applying the shillelagh to the poor, old Supreme Court by depriving the justices of a proposed \$3,000 annual salary increase. The liberals began howling like banshees at the mortal blow.

The chief justice now earns \$40,000 a year and his eight associates, \$39,500, but the judges, some members believed, were as worthy of an anti-poverty program as the rest of us.

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.) moaned about skinflint congressmen. The Washington Post stood editorially aghast at the lawmakers' defiance of the court. Liberal Republicans Charles Mathias (Md.) and John Lindsay (N.Y.) deplored the fact that the judges only received a \$4,500 hike in salary last year while other federal employees received as much as \$7,500.

And Rep. Mo Udall (D.-Ariz.), brother of the secretary of the interior, suggested that it wasn't Saint Patrick's day at all, but "Kick the Supreme Court in the Pants Day."

Aye, that it was. The lawmakers had obviously reached the boiling point over recent Supreme Court decisions on prayer, crime, sit-ins and reapportionment and were using the occasion to vent some pent-up spleen.

John Anderson (R.-Ill.) stressed that the justices weren't really in as underprivileged a state as some had supposed. Aside from their salaries, he noted, "members of the court are appointed for life . . . they can retire at the age of 70 on full pay . . . They make no contribution at all to a retirement system as do members of Congress . . . I think you will find most of them take regular summertime vacations and, indeed, reports in the press

would indicate some of them even take winter vacations."

James Haley (D.-Fla.) pointedly remarked: "I have it on very reliable information that the chief justice is now drawing from the State of California [a pension of] something between \$27,000 and \$30,000."

Asked Joe Waggoner (D.-La.) hopefully: "I wonder if the gentlemen could tell the House whether or not there is any danger, if their salaries are not raised, that we are going to have mass resignations from the Supreme Court?"

The Louisianan went on to propose only half-facetiously that would it "not be the better part of wisdom for the Congress to reduce the salaries of these people to the amount that legislators make since they have assumed the legislative role?"

Hastings Keith (R.-Mass.) stated that the justices also get \$20,000 group life insurance, plus \$20,000 for accidental death and dismemberment. Interjected Nebraska's Glenn Cunningham (R.): "I have heard comments on the judges' pensions, toward which the judges do not contribute at all, and other fringe benefits. I believe the court is furnished a limousine, too. That should be considered."

Sidney Yates (D.-Ill.), sympathetic to the pay raise, tried to put in a plug for the bill's cause by explaining that not all the judges would receive retirement pay at age 70 because they "can be called back to active duty at any time."

Retorted Paul Jones (D.-Mo.): "In the event we would be fortunate enough to get rid of some of them I do not think anyone would want to call them back."

Robert Dole (R.-Kan.) had another suggestion: "Mr. Speaker," he began, "I take this time because whenever thinking of the Supreme Court I think of

last June 15, 1964, and the reapportionment decisions handed down in Reynolds against Simms and the related cases. It has been suggested that perhaps section 2 of the bill might be amended whereby the effective date of the pay increase, if adopted by the House, would be the date the Supreme Court reverses the decision in Reynolds against Simms."

Richard Ichord (D.-Mo.) indicated the judges didn't have enough experience to get such high salaries. Said the Missourian:

"I will continue reading the qualifications of the present members of the Supreme Court as to their prior judicial experience which I called to obtain when the questions arose.

"Chief Justice Warren—none.

"Justice Black—one year as a police judge in the city of Birmingham, Ala., from 1910 to 1911.

"Justice Douglas—none.

"Justice Clark—none.

"Justice Harlan—one year on the U.S. Court of Appeals from 1954 to 1955.

"Justice Brennan—one year on the Circuit Court of New Jersey from 1949 to 1950; Appellate Court of New Jersey from 1950 to 1952; Supreme Court of New Jersey, from 1952 to 1956.

"Justice Stewart—four years on U.S. Court of Appeals, from 1954 to 1958.

"Justice White—none.

"Justice Goldberg—none.

"I point out . . . that of the nine members of the U.S. Supreme Court there is a total of 13 years' prior judicial experience if you count one year as a police judge for Justice Black in the city of Birmingham, Ala. And of the nine members, one member, Justice Brennan, has well over half of that total experience, he having seven years prior judicial experience."

Then came this interchange between Mathias and conservative H.R. Gross (R.-Iowa):

Gross: "Is it not a fact that they [the judges] leave Washington in June

or perhaps July and come back in September or October . . . Who else gets that kind of vacation in government . . ."

Mathias: "I happen to know, from personal experience, that when the justices are on vacation they are also engaged in duty."

Gross: "Is the chief justice, when he's over in Paris or on the Riviera, transacting business for the Supreme Court of the United States? Is that what the gentleman is trying to tell me?"

"Is Justice Douglas, when he is climbing a mountain, as he was a few weeks ago when the court was supposed to be in session, transacting the business of this country's Supreme Court?"

Laurence Burton (R.-Utah) took a different view about vacations: "Whatever their vacation is," said Burton "it's not long enough."

Byron Rogers (Colo.) stated that widows of justices receive a \$5,000 annuity. Referring to this fringe benefit John Bell Williams (D.-Miss.) then asked how many of Justice Douglas' wives the taxpayers "will be required to compensate?" Douglas has been married three times.

Other lawmakers waxed less sarcastic at times. Donald Rumsfeld (R.-Ill.) said he was voting against the pay hike because it was not the time to boost government spending while the government runs into debt.

But it was Sidney Yates, an advocate of the pay hike, who best summed up the reasons the House refused to pass the bill:

"Would the court be subject to criticism which has been heaped upon it today had it decided otherwise in the apportionment and redistricting cases? . . .

"Would the court have suffered the sarcastic comment and censure if it had not been willing to take an unpopular position on other controversial matters?"

"In great measure, Mr. Chairman, the unfortunate remarks that have been made today on this floor are a reaction to some of the controversial decisions of the court." And so the pay hike was defeated, 203 to 177.

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ALABAMA	78	40	32	INDIANA	85	4	11
ALASKA	78	40	32	MISSISSIPPI	82	4	11
ARIZONA	78	40	32	MISSOURI	84	4	11
ARKANSAS	78	40	32	MONTANA	84	4	11
CALIFORNIA	78	40	32	NEBRASKA	84	4	11
COLORADO	78	40	32	NORTH CAROLINA	84	4	11
CONNECTICUT	78	40	32	NORTH DAKOTA	84	4	11
DELAWARE	78	40	32	OHIO	84	4	11
FLORIDA	78	40	32	OKLAHOMA	84	4	11
GEORGIA	78	40	32	OREGON	84	4	11
IDAHO	78	40	32	PENNSYLVANIA	84	4	11
ILLINOIS	78	40	32	RHODE ISLAND	84	4	11
INDIANA	78	40	32	SOUTH CAROLINA	84	4	11
IO	78	40	32	TENNESSEE	84	4	11
IO	78	40	32	TEXAS	84	4	11
IO	78	40	32	UTAH	84	4	11
IO	78	40	32	VIRGINIA	84	4	11
IO	78	40	32	WASHINGTON	84	4	11
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